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a hook at the farther end, the nearer end being grasped in the hand. By lengthening the arm in this way it was possible to give a greater propulsive force to the spear.

On the other side of the plaza the boys in the religious-training school presented a less animated scene. Their little legs and faces lacerated by maguey spines, their bodies thin from fasts and penance and their eyes dulled by the monotony of self-denial, these children were chanting strophes from a ritualistic chant. Their preceptor, who led the singing, showed by his own scarred and emaciated body that the propitiation of the gods was a relentless and never-ending task. Priest, chief, warrior or husband, every Aztec, from boyhood on, spent much of his life either in a kind of beseeching penance, to ensure his future, or in a state of grateful atonement for not having had a worst past. The Aztecs lived on intimate if uncomfortable terms with the supernatural powers.

Another aspect of this lack of individualism was to be seen in the *tecpan* or clan building. Here elders of the clan were arranging the affairs of the tribal unit, twenty of which made up the city-state of Tenochtitlan. One old man peered over picture maps as he adjusted a question of land tenure between two contesting families and made his final judgment on the basis of how much land each family could cultivate by its own efforts. Another elder distributed pottery vessels, given up as tribute by a town across the mountains, to some of the poorer members of the community. None of these people, litigants or applicants, bestowed more than occasional glances into the back courtyard, where an adulterer was being stoned to death by members of the affronted family. Urban existence contained too many interests and

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life was too cheap for them to view as an excitement the inevitable result of wrongdoing.

Each of the twenty tribal divisions regulated its own affairs. The great plaza where Montezuma had his palace and where all the gods were worshiped in many temples was for the use of all the clans together; and was the civic center for the sixty thousand households of Tenochtitlan. Yet in spite of the importance of this center of religion and government, the great plaza of Tlaltelolco near the northern edge of the islands was almost as striking. Once a Mexican tribe acknowledged the sway of another power it was supposed to furnish fighting men and tribute, but its government and economics were seldom modified.

Thus the recently conquered Tlaltelolco had a communal center as majestic as that of Tenochtitlan. It seemed more dramatic to Spanish eyes because its great temple to the War God, Huitzilopochtli, was thrust into prominence by the wide spread of the market place, while in Tenochtitlan the great buildings were so close together it was hard to gain an impression of their size.

The market place of Tlaltelolco consisted of a large area of polished pavement, bordered by arcades which sheltered many of the merchants. At one edge a basin opened out from the canal beside the northern causeway, where boats bringing goods and produce could find an anchorage. Each kind of product was concentrated in a special place. Thus one section was completely devoted to vegetables, and compactly squatting women sat watching their goods, arranged before them in symmetrical heaps on woven mats. In another section cotton mantles were being sold, some spread to show the full design and others neatly folded. Elsewhere was a

561 681 them with a cord, or they stoned them, or before the people they beat them with wooden [staves], so that they were slain. Thus the ruler implanted fear.[11]

251 FIFTH PARAGRAPH, where is told how they stored all the food.

Petlacalco: there was stored all the food. Dried maize grains thus were kept in wooden grain bins; more than two thousand [measures of] grains of dried maize—a store of twenty years for the city. And in wooden storage bins were dried beans, chia, amaranth seeds, wrinkled chia, salt jars, coarse salt, baskets of chilis, baskets of squash seeds, and large squash seeds. And there was kept the jail, the [497] wooden cage,[12] where they imprisoned and confined evildoers.

624 651 681 384 SIXTH PARAGRAPH, in which is described the house of the majordomos and stewards.

Calpixcalli[13] or Texancalli: there assembled all the majordomos and tribute gatherers. There they were lodged [to await the command of the ruler, (lest) he require something, or] to bring down and put in order that which was their trust as tributes, [and there they arranged in order the various foods] which every day they gave the ruler. And if the ruler knew something ill of a majordomo, perchance of something he stole from the tributes; or that all his charge, the tributes, perhaps did not equal the correct count when all his store was tallied and examined; then he jailed the majordomo in a wooden cage; he exacted the penalty, that he die. Then he cast out his women [and his children from his home]. Then quickly the house of the majordomo was closed up, and all his goods remained in the house. All belonged to the ruler.

565 574 431 384 Coscalli: there were established all the lords from everywhere—friends of the ruler, and all the lords unfriendly to him. He gave and bestowed upon them all manner of costly goods: valuable capes and breech clouts, golden lip plugs, golden ear plugs, green stone lip plugs, green stone necklaces, and green stone bracelets.

IC MACUJLLI PARRAPHO: vncan mjtoa injqujpiaia in jxqujch qualonj.

Petlacalco, vncan mopiaia, in jxqujch qualonj, in tlaolli, injc mopiaia quauhquezcomatl, amo çan macujltzontli, vncatca tlaolli: cempoalxiuhcaiotl, in jtetzon altepetl, ioan quauhcuezcontica mãmanca in etl, in chian, in oouhtli, in chiantzotzol, iztacomjtl, iztaxalli, chilpetlatl, aiooachpetlatl, quauhaiooachtli: ioan vncan mopiaia in teilpilcalli, quauhcalli, in vncan qujmjlpiaia, qujncaltzaquaia tlatlacoanj.

IC CHIQUACEN PARRAPHO, vncã mjtoa: in jnchan mayordomos in calpixque.

Calpixcalli, texancalli, vncã cenqujçaia: in jxqujch calpixquj, ioan tequjtquj, vncan tecpanoaia injc [quitlatolchixticatca tlatoani, aço tlein quinequiz, aço] tlein qujtemoz qujcencauhticatca, in tlein inpiel tlacalaqujlli, [yoan uncan quicenquixtiaya y nepapan tlaqualli,] in momoztlae qujmacaia tlatoanj. Auh intla tlatoanj, itla qujmachili, ce calpixquj, aço itla qujnaoalchioa tlacalaqujlli: ioan in jxqujch in jpiel, in tlacalaqujlli: acaçomo caçi in tlapoalixtli: in jcoac mopoa, mocxitoca, in jxqujch in jpiel: njman quauhcalco qujtlalia, in calpixquj: qujtzacutiuh, mjquj, njman qujnqujxtia, in jçioahoan [yoan in ipilhoan yn ichan]: njman içiuhca motzaqua, in jcal calpixquj ioan in jxqujch in jtlatquj, calitic onoc: moch itech compoã tlatoanj.

Coscalli vncan tecpanoaia, in jxqujchtin, noujian tlatoque: in jicnjhoan tlatoanj, ioan in jxqujchtin, iiauhoan tlatoque: qujnmacaia, qujntlauhtiaia, in jxqujch tlaçotli, in tlaçotilmatli, in tlaçomaxtlatl, in teucujtlatentetl, in teucujtlanacochtli, in chalchiuhtentetl, in chalchiuhcoucatl, in chalchiuhmacuextli.

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11. At the end of this paragraph, the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS contains an account of the Calmecac, which is lacking in the *Florentine Codex*. (See Appendix A.)

12. *Tzalpetlatl, quauhcalli*: Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 268-269, writes: "*Las prisiones eran de dos especies. La llamada tzalpetlayan, lugar de presos, era que estaban durmiendo los delincuentes de penas leves; el cuauhcalli, casa de madera, especie de jaula fuerte de vigas, en que se guardaban los condenados á la muerte y prisioneros de guerra destinados al sacrificio.*"

13. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS, three passages appear which are not in the *Florentine Codex*. Because they change the sense to a degree, they are here inserted in brackets.

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SEVENTH PARAGRAPH, in which is told how the singers bedizened themselves when the ruler would dance; and of that in which they would dance.

Mixcoacalli: there were established all the kinds of singer-dancers of Tenochtitlan and Tlatilulco. There they awaited the word of the ruler, that he would dance, or try some song, or learn some new song. All this the singers prepared, all that was necessary—two-toned drums, rubber drum hammers, ground drums, rattles shaped like dried poppy heads, copper bells, flutes; players of two-toned drums and ground drums, intoners of chants, leaders of the dance; and all the properties used in the dance.

If the song were to be intoned after the manner of Uexotzinco, they were adorned like men of Uexotzinco, and spoke even as they did; they were imitated with the song and in their adornment and their equipment. Likewise if a song were to be intoned after the manner of Anauac, the speech of the men of Anauac was imitated, and their adornment as well as their equipment. Likewise, if a song were to be intoned after the manner of the Huaxteca, their speech was imitated, and their headdresses were taken, with which to imitate them in coloring their hair yellow; and the masks [had] arrow marks [painted] on the face, noses pierced like jug handles, teeth filed [to a point], and conical heads. And they [were clad] only in their capes. Likewise [they did] other songs.

INJC CHICOME PARRAPHO, vncā mjtoa, injc 533
mocencaoaia qujcanjme, in tlamaceoaz tlatoanj: 292
ioan in tlein ipan mjtotizque.

Mixcoacalli, vncan tecpanoaia in jxqujtlamantli, mâcehoalcujcanjme in tenochca, ioan tlatilulcatl, vncan qujtlatolchiaia in tlatoanj, in aço mâçeoaz, aço itla cujcatl qujchecoz, aço itla iancujc cujcatl qujmomachtiz, mochi ic moçencauhticatca, in cujcanjme: in jxquich monequj teponaztli, olmaitl, veuetl, [534]
aiacachtli, tetzilacatl, çoçoloctli, teponaçoanj, veuetzonanj, cujcaitoanj teiacanque: ioan in ixquich tlamantli mâcehoallatqujtl,

intla uexotzincaiotl meoaz cujcatl, in iuh muchichioa vexotzinca, ioan in iuh tlatoa: motlaichecalhuja in jca cujcatl: ioan ica inechichioal intlaquj. Çan no iuhquj intla anaoacaiotl meoaz, motlaichecalhuja, in jntlatol anaoaca: ioan jnnechichioal in iuhquj intlatquj. Çan no iuhquj, intla cuextecaiotl meoaz cujcatl, motlaichecalhuja in jntlatol: ioan mocuj tzoncalli in qujntlaichecalhuja, intzon, injc quacoztique, ioan xaiacatl ixtlamjoa iacaujcole, tlantziquatic, quapatlachtic, içan jtilma. Can no iuhquj in oc cequj cujcatl.

[302. 304]

EIGHTH PARAGRAPH, which telleth of the houses in which were the slaves.

Malcalli: the majordomos guarded[13a] the captives. They took great care of them as to food and drink. That which they needed, they gave all to the captives.

Totocalli: there majordomos kept all the various birds—eagles, red spoonbills, trupials, yellow parrots, parakeets, large parrots, pheasants. And there all the various artisans did their work: the gold and silversmiths, the copper-smiths, the feather workers,[14] painters, cutters of stones, workers in green stone mosaic, carvers of wood. Caretakers of wild animals,[15] majordomos, there guarded all the wild animals: ocelots, wolves, mountain lions, and mountain cats.

INJC CHICUEJ PARRAPHO, ipan tlatoa, in 567
jnchan catca tlatlacoti 344

Malcalli: calpixque pinpiaia, in mamalti, cenca
qujnmocujtlaujaia, in tlaqualtica, in atica: in tlein
qujnequja, mochi qujnmacaia in mamalti.

Totocalli, calpixque vncan qujnpiaia, in jxquich 463
nepapan tototl: quaquauhti, tlauhquechol, çaquan, 344
tzineneme, cochome, alome, coxoliti: ioan oncan tla-
chichioaia, in jxquich nepapan toltecatl, in teucujtla- 231
pitzquj, in tepoxpitzquj, in amanteca, tlacujloque, 136
tlatecque, chalchiuhtlacujloque, quauhtlacujloque
Tequanpixque, calpixque, vncan qujnpiaia, in jx-
quich tequanj: oçelotl, cuetlachtli, mjztli, ocotochtli.

13a. *Nopiaia*: probably *quinpiaia* is meant.

14. "Feather-workers were called amanteca after the district of Amantlan, in Tenochtitlan, where they lived" (Clark, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56, n. 2). Cf. also Soler, *Ensaje Español*, p. 378.

15. The *Real Academia de la Historia MS* has *nopanpixque* for *nopanpixque*, and begins with the verb a new paragraph. A marginal gloss by Sahagún heads the section, "Cura de las fieras."

[p.46 is blank]

were to remain, to make judgments, and to hear all manner of testimony.

The name of one Teccalli was Tlacxitlan. There they tried princes and great lords. At once, swiftly, they passed judgment on their complaints or wrong doing.

And the second place where justice was done was named Teccalli. There were the Mexican judges. Sagely they heard the complaints of the common folk. They defined and verified the complaint, they recorded it in paintings so that they might take it there to Tlacxitlan, where they informed the judges who were princes, so that there judgment might be pronounced.

And if something was difficult, they took it to the ruler so that he might judge it [with] those judges[6] whose names were Ciuacoatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Uitznauatlailotlac, Ticociauacatl, Pochtecatlailotlac, Ezuauacatl,[7] Mexicatl tezcacoacatl, Acatliacapanecatl, Milnauatl, Atlauhcatl, Ticocisuacatl, Ciuatecpanecatl, and Tequixquinaoacatl. These same judges meditated and pondered upon, and examined, the testimony. They sought out the witnesses, those who bore testimony. Perchance [the charge] was true; or else that which the ruler had heard was false, so that, perhaps, by error[8] someone had been held in jail.

And if the ruler condemned someone to die, then his executioners slew him—the Achcacauhtli,[9] the Quauhnochtli, and the Atempanecatl. Thus did these slay him: with a cord they strangled the evildoer, or they stoned him before the people, or they cut him to pieces.

THIRD PARAGRAPH, in which is described how all were to dance.

The ruler was greatly concerned with the dance, the rejoicing, in order to hearten and console all the peers, the lords, the noblemen, the brave warriors, and all the common folk and vassals.

First the ruler announced what song should be intoned. He commanded the singers to rehearse and practise the song and [to prepare] the two-toned calli, in vncan iezque, in vncā tetlatzontequilizque, 643
in vncan quicaquizque in jxquich tlamātli tlacatlatolli, 693
in centetl teccalli, itoca tlacxitlan, in vncā tetlatzontequiliaia tlaçopipilti, tlatocapipilti, çan njman içiuhca quitzontequja inteneteilhujl, anoço tetlatlacul. 565 [344]

Auh injc vccan tecutlatoloia, itoca teccalli, vncan catca in tecutlatoque mexica: iujian iocuxca quicaquja, in jneteilhujl cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in oquichipauhque, in oquiiectilique neteilhujlli, tlapallacujlolpan quitlalia, injc vmpa quitquj tlacxitlan in jpā quinitlapoujlia in tecutlatoque in tlaçopipilti, injc vmpa motzontequj. 693 [344] 565 695 [212]

Auh intla itla ouiitica iujc quitquj in tlatoanj injc ichoanti quitzontequj in jntoca catca tecutlatoque. Çioacoatl tlacochcalcatl, vitznaoatlailotlac, ticociaoacatl, pochteca tlailotlac, ezoaoacatl, mexicatl tezcacoacatl, acatliacapanecatl, mjlnaoatl, atlauhcatl, ticociaoacatl, çioatecpanecatl, tequixquinaoacatl, ichoantin, y, in tecutlatoque quinemjliaia, quichiquja, quipetlaoaia in tlacatlatolli, quintemoaia in machicegue, in tlaneltilianj, in aço ie nelli, anoço tlatolchichioalli in caqujtilo tlatoanj, in aço can tlapic aca quauhcalco otlaliloc. 695 643

Auh intla aca quitlatzontequjlia tlatoanj mjqujz. njman quimjctia, in jtemjcticaoan achcacauhti, quauhnochtli, atempanecatl: injc ichoantin quimjctia, quimecanja in tlatlacoanj, anoço teixpan quitetepachoa, anoço quitetequj. 693 696

INJC EI PARRAPHO: ipan mjtoa in quenjn netotiloz. 535

In tlatoanj oc cenca quimocujtlaujaia, in maçeoalitzli, in papaqujliztli, injc quimellaquaoa, injc quinoillalia, in jxquichtin tlatoque, ioan pipilti, ioan tetecuti, ioan tiacahoan: ioan in jxquich in cujtlapilli, atlapalli, in maçeoalli: 643

achtopa quitoaia in tlatoanj, in tlein cujcatl menaz quinnaoatiaia in cujcanjme: injc quichicaoazque injc quichicaoazque in cujcatl, ioan teponaztli, olmaitl, 643 533 534

6. *The corresponding Spanish text reads: "Y los ocos, muy diestrosos, y graues, llamandos al acbor: para que los entendiesse juntamente con todos principales, muy calificados, que eran el ordenauan, y residian."*
7. *After the words pochtecatlailotlac, the Real Academia de la Historia MS includes mixcoatlailotlac; crossed out appears as ejusmodi.*
The title Tiacxitecatl is repeated in the Aztec text of the Florentine Codex.
8. *Can thopic: can is probably meant (cf. ibid.).*
9. *Achcacauhti: cf. Sahagún, op. cit., I, pp. 166, 291, 293; II, pp. 318, 321; also Anderson and Dibble, op. cit., II, p. 108, and III, p. 53.*

And when the chieftains had beheld what now [the foe] did and intended, thereupon they deliberated as to what they would do. And when they had decided, thereupon went a boat, very carefully, which they poled rapidly. It came to a stop at the road's edge. No war device showed; it only came covered over. Another came. Just so, cautiously, they poled it forth rapidly. And once more came two boats, so making four. Then arose two eagle and two ocelot [warriors]. The first eagle [warrior] was Topantemoctzin; the second, Tlacotzin. And the first ocelot [warrior] was Temilotzin; the second, Coyoueuetzin. Thereupon broke forth one ocelot and one eagle [warrior], poling their boats furiously—as if the boats flew. They went cautiously to Tetzuhtitlan, in order to intercept and cut off the advance [of the foe]. And when they had gone, once again, also, two—another eagle and another ocelot [warrior]—sped forth to hurl themselves into the midst [of the fray]. And when they had already gone, the flutes were blown, and thereupon people were robbed. And some from there approached to cut off the advance of the chieftains.

And when our foes saw this, they would have fled. Many died in the water, sunk and submerged, only piled up one on another, as if no longer conscious, as if stunned, fallen, soaked. Those who in vain tried to flee, only fell between the beams. They were pulled out, it is said, completely smeared with mud, slippery with mud, well soaked and completely drenched. Very many perished; there they died in myriads. And this was the last time that there our foes, the various people [allied to the Spaniards] died in numbers. And when our foes had died, the next day was quite calm.

And thus came the Spaniards here to Amaxac. They went to and reached where the common folk had taken refuge.[8] They had completely surrounded us. The battle spread all around, there at Amaxac and on the road which led to Tepeyacac. Then [the Spaniards] went to and entered the young men's house named Ueican,[9] for there assembled all the young men. Then they climbed up to the roof terrace. And all the common folk thereupon jumped down behind the young men's house, and then all dispersed into the water. And a great sea-

Auh in oquittaque tiiacaoan in ie tlein quichioa, quimopictia: njman ie ic quinemjlia in quenjn vel quichioazque: auh in ovel quinemjlique, njman ie ic ce vitz in acalli, cencā yiolic, in quitlanelhuitivitze, contecaco vtenco, amo valneztia in tlaviztli, çan vallapachiuhtia, ie no ce valla, çan ie no ivi in jiolic quivallanelhuitiaque: auh je no ceppa valla vme in acalli ic onnauhtevitz. Nimā ic valmevatiquetz vntetl quauhtli, ontetl ocelutl: injc ce quauhtli, ie-hoatl in Topātemoctzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Tlacutzin. Auh injc ce ocelutl ichoatl in Temilotzin: injc vme, ichoatl in Coiovevetzin: njmā ie ic oneoa: ce ocelutl, ce quauhtli, quintequitlanelhuja, iuhquin patlanj acalli, vmpa tlamattiuh in tetzuhtitlan in q'niacacotonazque, in quiavilitequizque. Auh in jquac oiaque ie no ceppa no contlazque in omentin no ce quauhtli, auh no ce ocelutl quintlacomotlazque: auh in jquac ie vi nec tlapitzalo, njman ie ic tenamoielo: auh ceq'ntin njpa quinacatzacujlico in tiiacaoan. 726

Auh in oquittaque in toiaovan motlalonzquja mjec in atlan mjc, in polaoĉ in illaoque, ça netech ommotilinjaia, iuhquin aocmo quimati, ça iuhquin çoçotlaoa ça iuhquin chachapantivetzi, in oc nen motlalonequj ça quauhcamac activetzi, tevivilano, omach moçoquijneloque, omach moçoquipetzcoque, vel chachaquanque, vel popolacque, vel mjec in ixpoliuh, oncan vel tonacamjcoac: auh ça yioppa in vncā ontonacamjcque in toiaovan in nepapan tlaca: auh in jquac ommjquico in toiaovan, in jmuztlaioc, ça cacrimanca:

auh jc vallaque in Españoles in vncan amaxac, vel vmpa acito, in vmpa tlantoque in macevaltin, vel techiaoaloque, vel motetemmā in inuiotl, in vel vncā amaxac yoan ipan vtli in tepeiacac iaticac: njmā ic calaquito in telpuchcali: motencoa veican: ichica, ca vncan monechicoaia in jxquich telpuchtli: njman ic tlecoque in tlapanco. Auh in jxquich macoalli: njman ie ic onmotepeoa in jcampa Telpuchcalli, nec atla onnetepevalo. Auh ce vei tiiacauh quachic itoca, Vitzilhoztzin tlapanco moquetz, icpac in telpuchcalli, oc iuhquin tenamjtl mochiuh, oc ic achi con- 561 384

8. Corresponding Spanish text: "donde eran la yglesia de los ciboqueses."
9. Ibid.: "finalmente llegaron a donde estaua el seguro de los mexicanos."

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643 servants and bread makers and cacao makers his expenses must have been very great.

644 Let us cease talking about the expenses and the food for his household and let us speak of the Stewards and the Treasurers and the stores and pantries and of those who had charge of the houses where the maize was stored. I say that there would be so much to write about, each thing by itself, that I should not know where to begin, but we stood astonished at the excellent arrangements and the great abundance of provisions that he had in all, but I must add what I had forgotten, for it is as well to go back and relate it, and that is, that while Montezuma was at 262 643 table eating as I have described, there were waiting on him two other graceful women to bring him tortillas, kneaded with eggs and other sustaining ingredients, and these tortillas were very white, and they were brought on plates covered with clean napkins, and they also brought him another kind of bread, like long balls kneaded with other kinds of sustaining food, and "pan pachol" for so [276 314] they call it in this country, which is a sort of wafer. There were also placed on the table three tubes much painted and gilded, which held *liquidambar* mixed with certain herbs which they call *tabaco*, and when he had finished eating, after they had danced before him and sung and the table was removed, he inhaled the smoke from one of those tubes, but he took very little of it and with that he fell asleep.

644 Let us cease speaking about the service of his table and go back to our story. I remember that at that time his steward was a great Cacique to whom we gave the name of [651 212 289] Tápia, and he kept the accounts of all the revenue that was brought to Montezuma, in his books which were made of paper which they call *Amal*, and he had a great house full of these books. Now we must leave the books and the ● 344 411 accounts for it is outside our story, and say how Monte-

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zuma had two houses full of every sort of arms, many of them richly adorned with gold and precious stones. There were shields great and small, and a sort of broad-swords, and others like two-handed swords set with stone knives which cut much better than our swords, and lances longer than ours are, with a fathom of blade with many knives set in it, which even when they are driven into a buckler or shield do not come out, in fact they cut like razors so that they can shave their heads with them. There were very good bows and arrows and double-pointed lances and others with one point, as well as their throwing sticks, and many slings and round stones shaped by hand, and some sort of artful shields which are so made that they can be rolled up so as not to be in the way when they are not fighting, and when they are needed for fighting they let them fall down, and they cover the body from top to toe. There was also much quilted cotton armour, richly ornamented on the outside with many coloured feathers, used as devices and distinguishing marks, and there were casques or helmets made of wood and bone, also highly decorated with feathers on the outside, and there were other arms of other makes which, so as to avoid prolixity, I will not describe, and there were artizans who were skilled in such things and worked at them, and stewards who had charge of the arms.

Let us leave this and proceed to the Aviary, and I am forced to abstain from enumerating every kind of bird that was there and its peculiarity, for there was everything from the Royal Eagle and other smaller eagles, and many other birds of great size, down to tiny birds of many-coloured plumage, also the birds from which they take the rich plumage which they use in their green feather work. The birds which have these feathers are about the size of the magpies in Spain, they are called in this country

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deer, *mallards, young* dogs and other things of that sort in their part of the market, and let us also mention the fruiterers, and the women who sold cooked food, dough and tripe in their own part of the market; then every sort of pottery made in a thousand different forms from great water jars to little jugs, these also had a place to themselves; then those who sold honey and honey paste and other dainties like nut paste, and those who sold lumber, boards, cradles, beams, blocks and benches, each article by itself, and the vendors of *ocote*[1] firewood, and other things of a similar nature. I must furthermore mention, asking your pardon, that they also sold many canoes full of human excrement, and these were kept in the creeks near the market, and this they use to make salt or for tanning skins, for without it they say that they cannot be well prepared. I know well that some gentlemen laugh at this, but I say that it is so, and I may add that on all the roads it is a usual thing to have places made of reeds or straw or grass, so that they may be screened from the passers by, into these they retire when they wish to purge their bowels so that even that filth should not be lost. But why do I waste so many words in recounting what they sell in that great market, for I shall never finish if I tell it all in detail. Paper, which in this country is called *Amal*, and reeds scented with *liquidambar*, and full of tobacco, and yellow ointments and things of that sort are sold by themselves, and much cochineal is sold under the arcades which are in that great market place, and there are many vendors of herbs and other sorts of trades. There are also buildings where three magistrates sit in judgment, and there are executive officers like *Alguacils* who inspect the merchandise. I am forgetting those who sell salt, and those who make the stone knives, and how they split them

[1] Pitch-pine for torches

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shall investigate how far individuals, as members of this communal unit, participated in the aggregate tenure.

In the course of time, as the population further increased, *segmentation* occurred within the four original "quarters;" new "calpulli," being formed.[42] For *governmental* purposes this segmentation produced a new result by leaving, more particularly in military affairs, the first four clusters as *great subdivisions*.[43] But these, as soon as they had disaggregated, *ceased* to be any longer *units* of territorial possession, their original areas being held thereafter by the "minor quarters" (as Herrera, for instance, calls them), who exercised, each one within its limits, the same sovereignty which the original "calpulli" formerly held over the whole.[44] A further consequence of this disaggregation was (by removing the tribal council farther from the calpules) the necessity for an *official building*, exclusively devoted to the business of the *whole* tribe alone.[45]

[42] This successive formation of new "calpulli" is nowhere explicitly stated, but it is implied by the passage of Durán which we have already quoted (Cap. V, p. 42). It also results from their military organization as described in the "Art of War," (p. 115). With the increase of population, the original kinships necessarily disaggregated further, as we have seen it to have occurred among the Qquiché (See "Popol-Vuh" quoted in our note 7), forming smaller groups of consanguinei. After the successful war against the Tecpanecas, of which we shall speak hereafter, we find at least twenty chiefs, representing as many kins (Durán, cap. XI. p. 97), besides three more, adopted then from those of Culhuacan (Id. pp. 96 and 99). This indicates an increase.

[43] "Art of War, etc.," pp. 115 and 120.

[44] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXIV, p. 226). "I confess it to be truth that this city of Mexico is divided into four principal quarters, each one of which contains others, smaller ones, included, and all, in common as well as in particular, have their commanders and leaders . . . ." Zurita ("Rapport," p. 56-64). That the smaller subdivisions were those who held the soil, and not the four original groups, must be inferred from the fact, that the ground was attached to the calpulli. Says Zurita (p. 51.) "They (the lands) do not belong to each inhabitant of the village, but to the calpulli which possesses them in common." On the other hand Torquemada states (Lib. XIV, cap. VII, p. 545): "that in each pueblo, according to the number of people, there should be (were) clusters ("parcialidades") of diverse people and families . . . . These clusters were distributed by calpules, which are quarters ("barrios"), and it happened that one of the aforesaid clusters sometimes contained three, four, and more, calpules, according to the population of the place ("pueblo") or tribe." The same author further affirms: "These quarters, and streets, were all assorted and levelled, with so much accuracy, that those of one quarter or street could not take a palm of land from those of another, and the same was with the streets, their lots running (being scattered) all over the pueblo." Consequently, there were no communal lands allotted to the four great quarters of Mexico as such, but each one of the kinships (calpules) held its part of the original aggregate. Compare Gomara (Vedia, Vol. I, "Conq. de Méjico," p. 424. "Among tributaries it is a custom, etc., etc." Also p. 440). Clavigero (Lib. VII, cap. XIV). "Each quarter has its own tract, without the least connection with the others."

[45] Compare Durán (Cap. XI, p. 87). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. XXXI, p. 470). It appears as if the "tecpan" had not been constructed previous to the middle of the 14th cen-

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This building was the "*tecpan*"[46] called, even by Torquemada "house of the community;"[47] it was, therefore, since the council of chiefs was the highest authority in the government, the "council house" proper. It was erected near the centre of the "pueblo," and fronting the open space reserved for public celebrations. But, whereas formerly occasional, gradually merging into *regular*, meetings of the chiefs were sufficient, constant daily attendance at the "tecpan" became required, even to such an extent, that a permanent *residence* of the head-chiefs *there*, resulted from it, and was *one of the duties of the office*. Consequently the "tlacatecuhtli," his family, and such assistants as he needed (like runners), dwelt at the "official house." But this occupancy was in no manner connected with a possessory right by the occupant, whose family relinquished the abode, as soon as the time of office expired through death of its incumbent. The "tecpan" was occupied by the head war-chiefs only as long as they exercised the functions of that office.[48]

tury,—the meetings of the tribe being previously called together by priests, and probably in the open space around the main house of worship. The fact of the priests calling the public meetings is proved by Durán (Cap. IV, p. 42). Acosta (Lib. VII, cap. VII, p. 468). Veytia (Lib. II, cap. XVIII, pp. 156, 159. Cap. XXI, p. 186). Acosta first mentions "unos palacios, aunque harto pobres." (Lib. VII, cap. 8, p. 470), on the occasion of the election of the first regular "tlacatecuhtli:" Acamapichtli,—Torquemada says (Lib. XII, cap. XXII, p. 290), that they lived in miserable huts of reeds and straw, erected around the open space where the altar or place of worship of Huitzilopochtli was built. The public building was certainly their latest kind of construction.

[46] From "tecuhtli" chief, and the affixum "pan," denoting a place. Therefore "place of the chiefs." Molina translates: "casa ó palacio real, ó de algun señor de Salao" (II, p. 38). The word is also found in the Qquiché of the "Popol-Vuh" (p. 306). "Qui tiepan quib"—Mr. E. Brasseur de Bourbourg acknowledges the Mexican origin of the word, and renders it by "to divide into quarters," although he says that in Mexican it signifies: palace or municipality.

[47] Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XIV, pp. 269 and 270). "Tecpancalli, que quiere decir, los Palacios Reales, ó el Alcaçar, y casas de Señorio" (Id: Lib. VII, cap. XXI, p. 119. Lib. XIII, cap. XXX, p. 477). But especially in the Sixth Book, 27th chapter, page 48, when, referring to the statements of Father Bernardino de Sahagun who says, that "being in the city of Xuchimilco, he heard one night, etc. etc. . . . . and that inquiring next day why that shouting had taken place,—the Indians answered, that from the Tecpan, or community (municipal house), they had been calling the macehuales to work."

[48] Nearly every author who attempts to describe minutely the "chief-house" (tecpan) mentions it as containing great halls (council-rooms). See the description of the tecpan of Tezcuco by Ixtlilxochitl ("Hist. des Chichimèques," cap. XXXVI, p. 247. "The palace had two courts, the first and largest one serving as public square and market, for which it is still used at present. The second and interior one, was surrounded by the hall of the royal councils, where the King held two tribunals. In the centre of this court a large brasier was burning, which was never extinguished." Id. cap. XXXVIII), by Torquemada (Lib. III, cap. XXVII, p. 305. Lib. II, cap. XLIV, pp. 146 and 147. Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355).

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About the time these changes occurred, the dignity of "tlacatecuhtli" seems to have become a permanent feature in the govern-

XI, cap. XXVI, pp. 354 and 355). Cortés himself (Vedia, I, carta segunda, pp. 34 and 35), speaks of the great halls contained in what he calls the "house of Moteczuma." Bernal-Diez del Castillo (Vedia II, cap. XCI, pp. 86 and 87), confirms. See also Gomara (Vedia, I, p. 343 and 343. "Adonde él moraba y residia á la continua, llaman Tepac, que es como decir palacio . . . . . — . . . habia en él muchas salas.") Sahagun (Lib. VIII, cap. XIV, p. 302. "El palacio de los Señores ó casas reales, tenia muchas salas.") The tecpan was near the centre of the pueblo. See Gomara (Vedia I, p. 341. "Llegaron pues á un patio grande, recamera de los idolos, que fué casas de Axaláca.") Cortés (Vedia, I, "Carta Tercera," pp. 74 and 76, etc.).

Bernal-Diez (Vedia, II, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84, etc.). According to Sr. Icazbalceta ("México in 1554, note 38, p. 182, to the 2d Dialogue of Cervantes-Salázar), the "old houses of Montezuma"-occupied (about) the square west of the present site of the Cathedral. The "new houses" were in place of where the National palace now stands. It is admitted that the Cathedral occupies the site of the main "teocalli," or the old centre of the ancient pueblo. (Torquemada, Lib. III, cap. XXII, p. 290). The correctness of this is conclusively proven by Sr. Icazbalceta in note 40, to the Second Dialogue of Cervántes (p. 194, and plate on p. 197, also the important dissertation on page 201), and in note 51. Thus the central location of the tecpan at Mexico remains established.

The permanent residence of the head war-chief, of his household, and of some assistants,—at the tecpan, is too frequently related to demand further proof, but it is not superfluous here to investigate the point: that this residence was connected,—not with the *person* and *descendancy* of that chief, but with the *office* alone.

We find it mentioned that the buildings occupied by the Spaniards, when they first came to the pueblo of Mexico were the "house of the father of Montezuma" (Axayacatzin, probably). All the eye-witnesses concur in it and we need not refer to them in detail. There was, consequently, a house where the *kinship of the chief lived*,—aside from the tecpan, for since descent with the Mexicans was in the male line,—the son continued to occupy the dwellings of his father and (with communal living as practised in Mexico), of that father's consanguine relations. (That these sons and descendants were bred up to the ordinary pursuits of life, like any other Indian of Mexico, results from the speech as reported by Sahagun (Lib. V, cap. XV), of an old chief to his sons, wherein he exhorts them to cultivate the mechanical arts, and agriculture, adding the remarkable words, p. 117, "nowhere have I seen that any one may maintain himself through his noble descendancy alone.") In the case of Ahuitzotl, Durán relates (Cap. XLI, p. 227), "all the chief and principal men, with the whole tribe, going to the place where the sons of the Kings and great men were kept ("recogidos"), and where they instructed and furthered them in virtuous things, in the use of arms and good manners. Them they took out (Ahuitzotl) from the others, and brought him to the royal palace." Tezozomoc (Cap. LX, p. 100), speaking of the election of Ahuitzotl says: "and these twelve Mexican chiefs went to bring the King Ahuitzotl from the house of Tlacaleo." "And they said nothing to him until they were in the great palace" (Cap. LXI, p. 100). The election of Montezuma, however, gives occasion to that author, for another and very important statement (Cap. LXXXII, p. 143). "For, know ye, that many of the sons of the Kings past, are brought up now, some of which have become singers, others Cuachimecs, others Otomies, and the others are preparing to assume your titles of Tlacatecatl, Tlacochcalcatl, Ticocyahuacatl, Acolnahuacatl, Hezhuahuacatl, and a number of others who are and dwell in the principal house Calmecac." It is further exposed, how unwise it would be to elect an *unmarried* man, and finally Montezuma was chosen, whose age at that time is given at thirty-four years, and he was taken out of the Calmecac and escorted to the chief house (tecpan). But the strongest evidence results from the fact that the office was *elective*, and not hereditary. How, while the incumbent of an office changed, could the family of his predecessor still remain in possession of the official building?

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174 With continued increase of the population, the "tecpan" alone
344 did no longer suffice, thus each "calpulli" erected, within its own area, its own council place for the transaction of its interior business, lodging in it, after the model of the "tecpan," its own chief-men, and exercising there its share of the general hospitality. So Mexico became dotted with public constructions, necessarily distinguished by their size and arrangement from the rest of the buildings.[52]

[344 The chiefs and their families who resided in the official houses,
579] and upon whom devolved the exercise of public hospitality,—con-
643 tinued to participate for their share in the use of the soil held and
651 cultivated by the "calpulli" to which they belonged by descent. But whereas formerly they could improve these lands *themselves*, this became impossible with the increase of public business, and the task of cultivating them devolved, first upon their children and families, afterwards, when even these were required for the duties of the official household,—*upon the other members of the kin.* This was done, not in token of vassalage, but as a remuneration for the public services of the chiefs. The same took place in regard to the "tecpan" and its occupants. With the increase of intercourse, however, the scanty crops raised in this manner became insufficient, and a regular contribution, by each member of the different kinships, towards maintenance of the chiefs and the visitors they had to entertain, was instituted. Certain expanses were set aside, to be worked by communal labor, the products of which were exclusively devoted to what we may term "official purposes." Thus not only was there a tax created, voluntarily by the tribal components, for public purpose, but a new feature was introduced in the distribution of the soil. The mode of tenure,

[618] [52] These houses, sometimes called "calpulli," at other times "calpixca," were the *private palaces*, which the Spanish authors mention. They were but "official buildings;" probably connected with storehouses. As the tribe had its tecpan, so each calpulli, or localized kinship, its own council-house. This results from the organization of the kinship. See also "Art of War," pp. 103 and 104. What distinguished these constructions from the common house or abode ("calli"), were the halls ("salas"), and the "tecpan" was further distinguished by a lookout or tower. (Durán, cap. XXVI, p. 213. Tezozomoc, cap. XXXVI, p. 56). This distinction places it parallel to the so-called "palace" of Palenqué in Chiapas. Compare further: Zurita ("Rapport, etc.," p. 62). "At the annual gatherings, they (the chiefs of the calpulli) distribute gratuitously food and drink, to keep the Indians in good humor." Herrera (Dec. II. lib. VII. cap. XIII, p. 190). If we were to believe the picture presented of Mexico by the authors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Mexico would have possessed innumerable edifices of that kind.

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The place where this council assembled, was necessarily the official house of the tribe or "tecpan,"[182] and there they met at stated intervals, possibly twice every Mexican month of twenty days.[183] Such meetings were fully attended, and they could be called, besides, at any time.[184] There is evidence that, during

Durán ("*Texcoco*," p. 191): "Habia tambien abogados y procuradores; á los primeros llamaban Tepantlátoani (el que habla por otro)."

[182] *Molina* (II, p. 95): "casa ò palacio real, ó de algun señor de salua." But of special importance is the following definition (I, p. 91): "Palacio real" — "tecpan, tlatocan, totecuacan." This shows that the tecpan was really the place where the council met." *Sahagun* (Lib. VIII. cap. XIV, pp. 302 and 303. Cap. XXV, p. 314). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 134). *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. XXXVI, pp. 247-238). *Veytia* (III. cap. VII, p. 199). *Torquemada* ("*Monarquia*," Lib. XIV, cap. VI, p. 544), identifying "la Corte" with the "lugar de Juzgado, ó Audiencia." Further quotations are useless.

[183] This fact is implied by *Ixtlilxochitl* ("*Hist. des Chichimèques*," cap. XXXVIII, pp. 267, 268 and 269), when he affirms that, in notifying a hostile tribe of the intention to make war upon it, the notification was repeated thrice, at intervals of twenty days. *Veytia* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," Lib. III, cap. VII. p. 209), says that every twelve days "cada doce dias," the courts met to report to the "emperor." This is rather strange since (Id., p. 208, etc.), he says that these courts sat daily in what he calls the "palace." *Torquemada* (Lib. XI, cap. XXVI, p. 355): "De diez à diez Dias, y á mas tardar, de doce à doce, hacia junta el Rei de todos los jueces, asi de las Audiencias del Reino, como de los de sus Consejos." In this case he speaks of Texcuco. *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXVIII, p. 135): "Y asi, á lo mas largo, los pleitos árduos, se concluian á la consulta de los ochenta dias, que llamaban nappoalltiatolli, demas que cada diez ó doce dias el señor con todos los juezes tenian acuerdo sobre los casos árduos y de mas calidad." *Zurita* ("*Rapport*, etc.," p. 101): "Tous les douze jours il y avait une assemblée générale des juges présidié par le prince. On y jugeait les affaires difficiles, celles de crimes qualifiés, et l'on examinait minutieusement tous les détails." *Clavigero* (Lib. VII, cap. XVI, p. 483), is very positive: "Each Mexican month, or within twenty days, a meeting of all the judges was held in presence of the King, to decide upon all cases not yet disposed of." He evidently bases the statement upon *Gomara* ("*Conquista*," etc., Vedia I, p. 442). "Consultan con los señores cada mes una vez todos los negocios," according to *Sr. Orozco y Berra* ("*Ojeada sobre Cronologia Mexicana*," Introduction to the "Crónica Mexicana," published under the supervision of Señor José M. Vigil, pp. 174 and 175). Gomara rests principally upon an unpublished series of documents, entitled "*Libro de Oro*," now in possession of my friend, Sr. Icazbalceta, which collection was formed by the Franciscans under the auspices of the unjustly abused Fray Juan de Zumárraga, between 1531 and 1547. The statement of Clavigero is, therefore, not to be rejected. The "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 65) says: "los quales daban noticia al Rey cada cierto tiempo de todo lo que en su Reyno passaba y se habia hecho." It is, therefore, to say the least, likely, that the full council met *once* a month, but, as we have stated in order to be just towards all, it is equally possible that it may have met twice. The reference to "Judges" needs no explanation. It is self-evident that for judiciary matters, alone, such meetings of executive officers were superfluous. Matters of government came up also,—and this is decisive of the kind of officers that were members of the tribal council, since they alone could fill such positions. These meetings were, therefore, full meetings of the council, and nothing else.

[184] This is abundantly proven by what has at last been recognized by *Sr. Orozco y Berra* as well as by my friend, *Sr. Chavero* ("*Ojeada*," etc.) as specifically Mexican sources of aboriginal history. See for inst.: "*Codice Ramirez*" (pp. 52, 62, 66, 67, 80). "*Fragmento No. 1*" (pp. 134, 137, 138, etc.). "*Fragmento No. 2*" (pp. 137, 147, etc.).

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again establishes the equality in rank of both officers, and it also dispels the notions of royal etiquette and magnificence with which, more particularly, the figure of "Wrathy chief" (Montezuma) has been surrounded in history.

The "chief of men" as head of the official household needed many assistants and subordinates. He required stewards for the care of the stores and their daily apportionment.[253] Especially did he need runners for the delivery of his messages. Such officers could be chosen by him and thus far, but no farther, did he enjoy the right of appointing subordinates.[254] But the appointment to a certain duty by the "chief of men," did not confer any hereditary rank or office. On the contrary, it is even probable that most of these posts were filled by outcasts, since this was, properly, the group from which the inferior servants for the transaction of tribal business could be selected without disturbing the balance of power between the kins.

The "Tecpan" being, as we have already stated, the "house of the community," that is the place where the business of the entire social cluster (as far as the tribe could represent it) was transacted, and, furthermore, it being proven that the same "tecpan"

"Face in the Water." existed a few years previous to that date. According to *Señor Don J. F. Ramírez* ("*Durán.*" p. 251, note 1 to Cap. XXXI), disfigured remnants, among which the sign "1 cane" (ce-acatl) is plainly visible, can yet be noticed in the rock at Chapultepec on the eastern side of that celebrated hill or isolated bluff.

Now it is equally certain, that such carvings were not only commemorative of the "Tlaca-Tecuhtli," but *also* of the "Cihuacohuatl." See *Durán* (Cap. XXXI, pp. 250, 251). A somewhat different version, is given by *Tezozomoc* ("*Crónica*," Cap. XL, p. 66). It is remarkable, however, that comparatively little importance was attached to those funeral monuments. The place of Chapultepec itself, a very striking and conspicuous object and one with which many reminiscences were connected, was viewed as an object of "medicine." *Torquemada* (Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 303). That particular attention should be paid to the remains of an officer of high rank is very natural. It is found among the Iroquois, *L. H. Morgan* ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, Cap. III, pp. 95 and 96. also, "*American aboriginal Architecture*" in *Johnson's Cyclopedia*). It would be useless to dwell further on the subject since it will be fully treated of in one of my subsequent monographs.

[253] It is not devoid of interest to notice, that this official household, in full "blast," appears only after the formation of the confederacy. *Codice Ramírez* (p. 65): "Puso assi mismo este Rey por consejo y industria del sabio Tlacaelel en muy gran concierto su casa y corte, poniendo oficiales que le servian de mayordomos, masetresalas, porteros, coperos, pajes y lacayos, los quales eran sin número. . . . . ." This is not only confirmed by *Durán* (Cap. XXVI), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXXV and XXXVI), but even by *Torquemada* (Lib. II, cap. LIV, p. 109).

[254] This can easily be inferred from the fact, already established, that all the other kinds of officers of anything like important rank, were *elected* and not appointed. See also the passage, already quoted elsewhere, of *Durán* (Cap. LXIV, p. 498), which is very interesting in a general way.

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644 was also the regular seat and place of office of the highest author-
314 ity or "tribal council," it follows that peculiar and distinct relations must have existed between that council and the officer, whose duty it was to dwell at this same house. These relations are explained to us, partly, by the statement that the "chief of men" was placed there as a watchman, to guard tribal Interests in the midst of confederate business.[255] He was to be present, day and night, at this abode which was the centre wherein converged the threads of information brought by traders, gatherers of tribute, scouts and spies, as well as of all messages sent to, or received from neighboring, friendly or hostile tribes. Every such message came directly to the "chief of men," whose duty it was, before acting, to transmit its import to the "Cihuacohuatl," and through him to call together the "Tlatocan."[256] Thus the "chief of men" occupied an intermediate position between the confederacy and the tribe. He might, ex-officio be present at the deliberations of the council, but that presence was not obligatory; and no decisive or commanding voice and vote was allowed him, beyond the weight that his reasoning and personal consideration for his merits and experience might carry.

643 Whenever any conclusion was reached, it became the "chief of men's" duty to provide for its execution. Thus, if traders returned illtreated, beaten, and bruised, and the Mexican council [202] clamored for revenge, he sent his runners to the confederate tribes, calling upon them for assistance, as the contract authorized the Mexicans to do. Sometimes these messengers were chiefs, selected by the council itself.[257] The result of their mission was reported

[255] An attentive perusal of *Sahagun* (Lib. VI, cap. X) will convince the reader of the truth of this statement. See also *Durán* (Cap. XLI, p. 328; cap. LII, pp. 414 and 415) and *Tezozomoc* (Cap. LVI, p. 92; cap. LXI. pp. 100 and 101; cap. LXXXII, p. 144).

[256] *Durán* (Cap. XII. p. 109): "Vuelto á Tlacaellel, le mandó avisase á los de su consejo que ablasen. . . ." also (Cap. XVI, pp. 122, 134 and 138; cap. XXI, p. 182; cap. XL, p. 316; cap. XLI, p. 330; cap. LIII, p. 419, etc., etc.). "*Codice Ramirez*," (p. 66). *Tezozomoc* (Cap. XXI, p. 33; cap. XXXVIII, p. 60; cap. XL, p. 65; cap. XLII, p. 69; cap. LVII, p. 93; cap. LXVIII, p. 114, etc.). Besides, it must be inferred from the fact, already proven, that the "Cihuacohuatl" was the "foreman" of the council. In this capacity, it was to him that the "chief of men" had to communicate all business to be submitted to the council.

[257] Instances of that kind are found profusely noticed in the specifically Mexican chronicles. Extensive quotations would become too lengthy, I therefore limit myself to mere indications, leaving the reader to consult the authors in question. *Tezozomoc* (*Crónica*," Cap. XXVII, p. 40, cap. XXVIII, p. 42, cap. XXXI, pp. 48 and 49, cap. XXXIV, p. 54, cap. XXXVII, p. 58, cap. LXXV, pp. 127 and 128, cap. LXXXVIII, p. 154, cap. LXXXIX, and XC, pp. 157 and 158). *Durán* (Cap. XVIII, pp. 156 and 157, cap. XIX, pp. 165 and 166, cap, XXI, p. 182, cap. XXII, p. 189, cap. XXIV, p. 201, etc., etc).

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643 greet the newcomers at the dyke, "Wrathy chief" acted simply, as
574 the representative of the tribal hospitality, extending unusual

Tenochca (Fragment No. 2) and *Tlatilulcan* (Sahagun). The statements by Spanish eye-witnesses are of doubtful authority in this case, since none of them knew, or could know anything positive; and the pueblo was subsequently, so utterly destroyed that even its site could hardly be recognized. Nevertheless, the "old and new palaces of Montezuma" have become household words.

It is, nevertheless, interesting to compare the reports of eye-witnesses with the above quotations from aboriginal sources. *Cortés* ("*Carta Segunda*," Vedia I, (p. 23): "*y torné á seguir por ó la calle en la forma ya dicha. fasta llegar á una muy grande y hermosa casa, que él tenia para nos aposentar, bien aderezada.*" The house where "Wrathy Chief" staid with his household, appears to have been some distance from the Spanish quarters, since we read (p. 27): "dejando buen recando en las encrucijadas de las calles"—thus showing that crossings intervened. The following, however, is very plain, if not decisive ("*Carta Tercera*," p. 76): "E porque lo sintiesen mas, este dia fice poner fuego á estas casas grandes de la plaza, donde la otra vez que nos echaron de la ciudad, los españoles y yo estábamos aposentados; que eran tan grandes, que un principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio se podian aposentar en ellas; y otras que estaban junto á ellas, que aunque algo menores eran muy mas frescas y gentiles, y tenia en ellas Mutezcuma todos los linajes de aves que en estas partes habia." This remark about the "principe con mas de seiscientas personas de su casa y servicio" evidently agrees with his previous statement concerning the household of "Wrathy Chief" ("*Carta Segunda*," p. 35): "La manera de su servicio era que todos los dias luego en amaneciendo eran en su casa de seiscientos señores y personas principales, los cuales se sentaban . . . . . Y los servidores destos, y personas de quien se acompañaban henchian dos ó tres grandes patios, y la calle . . . ." Consequently, Cortés himself plainly confirms the native authors above quoted. *Andrés de Tápia* ("*Relacion*," etc., p. 579): "é hizo aposentar al marqués en un patio donde era la recámara de los idolos, é en este patio habia salas asaz grandes donde cupieron toda la gente del dicho marqués é muchos indios de los de Tascala é Churula que se habian llegado á los españoles para los servir." This eye-witness, therefore, does not mention either of the two "houses of Montezuma." The father of the tale is found in *Bernal Dîaz de Castillo* (Vedia II, Cap. LXXXVIII, p. 84): "E volvamos á nuestra entrada en México, que nos llevaron á aposentar á unas grandes casas, donde habia aposentos para todos nosotros, que habian sido de su padre del gran Montezuma, que se decia Axayaca, adonde en aquella sazon tenia el gran Montezuma sus grandes adoratorios de Idolos . . . . ."

Thus Cortés, who is the principal eye-witness in the case, unmistakably states that the Spaniards were quartered at the "teopan." Of the other two conquerors, only the last mentions the Spanish quarters as being the "house of Montezuma's father," whereas Tápia is silent on the subject. Taken in connection with the assertions of the native writers, the statements of Cortés become of great weight.

It is but natural to expect (and the fact needs no proof) that the subsequent writers have followed either one or the other of the two versions. After having transcribed the letters of Cortés, *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLV, p. 500) mentions also: "aposentó allí á á los christianos, en unas casas que avian seydo de su padre," which statement he gathers from other conquerors (p. 494) whose names he fails to give; (Cap. XLVII, p. 507) he calls the said house "la morada de su abuelo." I forbear further abstracts.

[344] Fortunately an official document of early date informs us of the exact situation of these two buildings. It is the "*Merced á Hernan Cortés de Tierras inmediatas á México, y Solares en la Ciudad*" (Col. de Doc's Icazbalceta, Vol. II, pp. 28 and 29). It bears date, Barcelona, 23 July, 1520, and conveys to Cortés: "los solares é casas son la casa nueva que era de Montezuma, que alinda por la una parte con la plaza mayor é la calle de Iztapalapa, é por la otra la calle de Pero Gonzalez de Truxillo, é de Martin López, carpintero; é por la otra la calle en donde están las casas de Juan Rodriguez, albañil; é por la otra la calle pública que pasa por las espaldas: á la casa vieja que era

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

courtesies to unusual, mysterious, and therefore dreaded guests. Leaving these in possession of the "tecpan," he retired to another of the large communal buildings surrounding the central square, where the official business was, meanwhile, transacted.[261] His return to the Spanish quarters, even if compulsory, had less in it to strike the natives than is commonly believed. It was a re-installation in old quarters, and therefore the "Tlatocan," itself, felt no hesitancy in meeting there again, until the real nature of the dangerous visitors was ascertained, when the council gradually withdrew from the snare, leaving the unfortunate "chief of men" in Spanish hands.[262]

We have qualified the position of the "Tlacatecuhtli" towards the council as intermediate between tribe and confederacy. In the latter body, he was but the general-in-chief and had no other duties or power.[263] Therefore, when Cortés seized the head-chief of Tezcuco, "Wrathy chief" had no authority to assure the Spaniards, although they called upon him for that purpose.[264] He ex-

de Montezuma, donde vivia, que alinda por la frontera con la plaza mayor é solares de la iglesia, y la placeta; por un lado la calle nueva de Tacuba, é por otro la calle que va de la plaza mayor á S. Francisco; por las espaldas la calle donde están las casas de Rodrigo Rangel, é de Pero Sanchez Farfán, é de Francisco de Terrazas, é de Zamudio."

From these data it is easy to recognise in the present National Palace the site of the so-called "new houses of Montezuma," and in the buildings facing the "Empedradillo" the "Old houses." Both faced the central square of the pueblo.

The so-called "old houses" were also immediately in front of the central "house of God." It is said by Tezozomoc (Cap. LXX, p. 117): "Este templo y cerro estaba puesto adonde fueron las casas de Alonso de Avila y Don Luis de Castilla, hasta las casas de Antonio de la Mota, en cuadro." Now according to *Icazbalceta* ("Los tres Diálogos," etc., notes to Sec'd Dialogue, p. 218): "La casa de Alonso de Avila estaba en la la calle del Reloj, esquina á la de Sta Teresa la Antigua." Consequently the "old houses" were indeed those which Bernal Diez mentions as "where Montezuma at that time had his great adoratories." Now these "old houses" were, as we have seen, the "tecpan" or official house of the Mexican tribe. This again fully sustains our proposition that the Spaniards were quartered there, and that the official household had vacated it for that purpose.

[261] This fully explains the designation by, "New houses of Montezuma" mentioned in the preceding note.

[262] That the council met at the Spanish quarters, is plainly stated by *Bernal Diez de Castillo* (Cap. XCV, pp. 95 and 96, Cap. XCVII, p. 98). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLVII, p. 369). That the members of the council gradually withdrew, is equally certain, from the fact that a successor to "Wrathy Chief" was elected, while the latter was still alive and a captive of the Spaniards.

[263] *Durán* (Cap. XLIII, p. 347). *Zurita* ("*Rapport*," etc., p. 11): "Le souverain de Mexico avait au dessous de lui ceux de Tacuba et de Tezcuco pour les affaires qui avaient rapport á la guerre; quant á toutes les autres, leurs puissances étaient égales, de sorte que l'un d'eux ne se mêlait jamais du gouvernement des autres;" Id. (pp. 93 and 95). *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXXVII, p. 156). *Herrera* (Dec. III, lib. IV, cap. XV, p. 103). The two latter authors evidently have followed Zurita. See also note 4.

[264] See note 4. *Fragmento No.* 2, in "*Biblioteca Mexicana*" (pp. 143 and 145).